GREED AND GRIEVANCE: A PERSPECTIVE ON CLIMATE CHANGE
AND VIOLENT CONFLICT

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ABSTRAK
Perubahan iklim telah menjadi isu penting lingkungan pada saat sekarang ini dan penelitian terkait fenomena alam tersebut telah berkembang ke berbagai cabang ilmu pengetahuan, termasuk studi keamanan. Hubungan antara perubahan iklim dan konflik kekerasan merupakan salah satu topik pembahasan. Isu tersebut masih berada dalam ranah perdebatan bagi akademisi dan pembuatan kebijakan karena mereka memiliki pandangan dan pemahaman yang beragam terkait hubungan sebab-akibat antara perubahan iklim dan konflik. Berdasarkan beberapa kasus, seperti konflik Sungai Nil, tsunami Boxing Day, dan perang sipil di Somalia, artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa perubahan iklim bisa menjadi sumber konflik tetapi faktor-faktor yang lain juga berkontribusi terhadap konflik tersebut. Hasil dari observasi berdasarkan teori *greed-grievance* menunjukkan bahwa peran pemerintah dan kondisi sebuah negara juga memiliki pengaruh yang besar. Pemerintah memiliki peran penting dalam manajemen dan pencegahan konflik, sementara situasi sosial dan politik dari sebuah negara bisa menjadi faktor pemicu.
Kata kunci: Perubahan iklim, Konflik kekerasan, Hubungan sebab akibat

ABSTRACT
Climate change has become a major environmental issue nowadays and research regarding this natural phenomenon has expanded to various academic fields, including security studies. The link between climate change and violent conflict is one of the important topics of discussion. This subject is still debatable for scholars and policymakers since they have various perspectives and understandings on a cause-and-effect relationship between climate change and conflict. Based on several cases, such as the Nile River conflict, the Boxing Day tsunami, and the Somali civil war, this article concludes that climate change can be a source of violent conflict, however, other factors also contribute to the event. The observation based on the greed-grievance theory indicates that role of the government and the condition of the state have significant influence as well. Governments play an essential role in managing and preventing a conflict from erupting while the distinct social and political situation of a state can be a causal factor.
Keywords: Climate change, Violent conflict, Cause-and-effect relationship

INTRODUCTION

The climate change phenomenon has attracted the interest of the public, prompting people to want to know more about it. With evidence showing that climate change is real; individuals are starting to be aware of this global event. People pay more attention on this environmental issue and there are many civil society groups take a firm action to campaign against global warming. The emergence of climate change activists, such as Greta Thunberg, also attract mass media to cover this issue. It leads to the condition where the environment becomes a popular topic of discussion.

Climate change is supported by data through scientific research. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) (n.d.) states that the earth's climate is changing rapidly. This change is indicated by many different natural activities such as the rise in sea levels, higher global temperatures, and extreme natural disasters. Over the last few years, the impact of climate change on the environment has become clear. It affects people's daily life. The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) reports that, due to the effects of climate change, 2016 was the hottest year in the earth's recorded history (Carrington, 2017). This fact shows that in recent years the world has been facing environmental problems.

The environment is not the only aspect affected by climate change; national security is being threatened as well (Dupont, 2008: 30-31). This demonstrates that environmental issues are also related to social aspects. They have impact on each other. Some states, such as the United States, have taken climate change seriously enough to put the issue on their foreign policy security agenda (Barnett, 2003: 7). It emphasizes that security is no only about military and power but also covers many different issues such as the environment. In this article, I try to find a link between climate change and violent conflict. Using several case studies and arguments from scholars based on the greed and grievance theoretical framework, I argue that climate change can be a source of violent conflict, but that link depends on other social factors triggering the conflict.

Generally this article consists of four sections. In the article's first section, I explore some major perspectives from scholars and politicians regarding climate change and conflict. In the second section, I demonstrate that government has an important role to prevent and manage conflict that could be triggered by climate change effects. The following section continues with a discussion on conditions and situations in a state that influence conflict eruption. The last section examines discourse and historical perspectives on climate change and conflict issues.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Greed and grievance is a common topic on literature related to the study of conflict, especially regarding civil war. In their paper published in 2004, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, lay the foundation of

understanding civil war through greed and grievance perspective. Until today, this conceptual framework becomes a major reference related to the conflict studies despite the complexity of its perspective on greed and grievance. Syed Mansoob Murshed and Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeddin (2009) assert that greed-grievance is helpful to reveal causes of conflict. Thus, this theory is used to understand the cause and effect relation between environmental issues, such as climate change and violent conflict.

In their paper, Collier and Hoeffler divide the explanation of greed and grievance before combining them. Regarding greed theory on the case of rebellion, they brought three variables determining the causes of rebel movement to start a civil war. First, per capita income which the higher the income, the lower chances of a conflict to happen. Second, the share of natural resource exports in GDP affects possibility of conflict. The lower the share of natural resource, the higher possibility to initiate a rebellion act. Third, it is related to elasticity of conflict and population. The chance of conflict decreases when it is less than unit elastic in that population.

They further elaborate the concept with several variables to explain the cause of conflict based on the greed perspective. Firstly, a relative military advantage. This aspect explains that when the government has a higher relative military advantage it leads to less possibility of rebellion act. Moreover, this variable consists of three components, they are geography, cohesion, and motivation. Geography is related to geographical condition of a particular area. If the area is scattered then the chance of rebellion will increase since the government has difficulties to control the area. Cohesion aspect covers the homogeneity of population which leads to easy process of rebel recruitment. A diverse population costs higher to form a rebel group because they prefer to put people with the same background in that group. Meanwhile, the variable motivation based on the reason that they have to kill the enemy. The rebels persuade the recruits to join a rebellion group based on this. They tend to choose those "unfortunate people" to fight against government. In the case of a diverse population, the ethnic differences among them could be a reason to trigger a conflict.

Secondly, rebel costs of recruitment. The cost of recruitment depends on condition of labor market. When it is difficult to have new recruits, then, the risk of violent conflict is decreasing. The condition of labor market is also affected by three major components, they are education level, population growth, and economic growth.

Thirdly, start-up finance. This aspect relates to financial support for rebellion movement. Their financial power plays a significant role. This start-up finance depends on the help from foreign actors, such as foreign governments and diaspora. Especially during the Cold War, this factor was very common.

Another perspective is a grievance motivation for rebellion. Collier and Heffler continue their explanation regarding grievance theory by dividing three major motivations for rebellion, they are inter-group hatred, political exclusion, and vengeance. Inter-group hatred is the most possible reason for conflict. It

normally becomes a motivation in multi-ethnic and multi-religious population where the possibility of conflict is higher in a more diverse society. Political exclusion emerges based on two main reasons; exclusion of minority group and marginalization of the poor. They are excluded from political process in the country which leads to the potential of rebellion. The last one is vengeance. Hatred towards government could be triggered by conflict happened in the past. A rebellion act based on vengeance is very possible to happen.

Their explanation on greed and grievance theory is followed by the review on greed-grievance combination theoretical framework. Despite having different perspectives on seeing the causes of conflict, Colier and Heffler argue that both greed and grievance could integrate into a concept. Variables from these two theories are helpful in explaining causes of conflict.

Murshed and Tadjoeddin (2019) agree with the idea of greed-grievance theory combination. They assert that both perspectives could complement each other in explaining origins of conflict. Even though greed-grievance gains popularity among scholars of security studies, Murshed and Tadjoeddin emphasize the current position of greed and grievance in conflict literature is not able to explore the complex issues of conflict. They also take an empirical evidence of conflicts in Indonesia where the analysis using one perspective is not sufficient. Thus, they believe that implementation of two theoretical frameworks provide more comprehensive understanding on the issue.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper is written based on qualitative research method. Bryman, Teevan and Bell (2009) defined that qualitative research method is "concerned primarily with words and images rather than numbers". Data are mostly taken from internet sources. Data used in this research are journal article, report, news, and statistics. Using greed and grievance theory as the analytical framework, the data are interpreted and analyzed to find a link between climate change and violent conflict.

DISCUSSION

Perspectives on Conflict and Climate Change

Researchers have long been trying to find a clear connection between conflict and climate change. There are many attempts made to understand the correlation of these two different aspects. In security studies, this issue is categorised into the field of environmental security (Barnett, 2000: 271). Despite some debate on this particular topic, some scholars, world leaders, and political figures have already jumped to the conclusion that climate change can be a primary source of conflict. Ban Ki Moon (2007), a former secretary general of United Nations, confidently states that climate change caused an environmental crisis that led to the eruption of violence in Darfur, Sudan. He claims that the drought period triggered the outbreak of violence. His statement

emphasizes the connection between climate change and violent conflict. This perspective, however, attracts public attention since his position at the United Nations was very crucial. A public figure along with their power create major influence on general public across the globe. One simple statement could make a big impact on society.

The United States also see the relation of environment and conflict as something important. They view climate change as a high-security matter for the state. Especially the Obama administration who argues it can stimulate conflict and major migration. They agree that climate change along with its effect is not merely an environmental issue, but it can be considered as part of security problems. Brigadier General Stephen Cheney, a member of the U.S. Department of State's foreign affairs policy board and CEO of the American Security Project, also emphasises that, "there are direct links to climate change in the Arab Spring, the war in Syria, and the Boko Haram terrorist insurgency in sub-Saharan Africa" (Carrington, 2016). His strong opinion on this matter reflect how the U.S. government sees climate change and violent conflict.

Statements from Ban Ki Moon and US government officials imply that the link between climate change and conflict is evident. Considering their position in world governance, they definitely contribute to the debate in environmental security among policy makers at international level. This is something interesting to see since their understanding on climate change will have major influence on society in general. Policies formulated based on their views and stances affect how community react towards climate change and conflict related issues. Their influence also shape society's perspective on this complex problem. Thus, they play an important role in regards to the debate on climate change and conflict.

The debate about this environmental problem is not only for policy makers. In the academic sphere, research related to conflict and climate change is dominated by scholars supporting the Neo-Malthusian perspective. They point out the clear connection between population, environment, and conflict, as population growth has an important impact on environment and living organisms (Barnett, 2000: 280). Homer-Dixon (1994: 39) adds that population and inequality of resource distribution can be sources of environmental scarcity, which trigger violent conflict. In short, aspects of population, environment, and conflict are interconnected in the Neo-Malthusian framework. Mellos (1988) reviews the historical aspect of Neo-Malthusian. Thomas Malthus at the end of 18th century, explores the relation between population growth and supply for food. His classical analysis has become foundation for many different branches of studies, such as, ecology, biology, political and social sciences. The main proposition of Malthus is population growth is unlimited while food supply is limited.

Tadjoeddin, Chowdury and Murshed (2012) uses Malthusian perspective to analyze the conflict occur in Java Island, Indonesia. As the most populated island in the country, the analysis on Java island relates to population density, environmental issues, and tendency for conflict. Their result of research indicates that Java

is strongly connected to Malthusian framework. Several factors could trigger conflicts in the area, they are high inequality level and high density of population. This research suggests that social policies are needed to decrease potential causes of conflict.

On the other hand, several scholars and researchers have different perspectives. For instance, regarding the conflict in Darfur, Hartmann (2010: 237) argues that the claim about climate change as a main source of conflict is oversimplified. For example, some conflicts related to resources are more concerned with economic issues rather than environmental ones (Barnett, 2000: 272). The intertwining of various factors and interests can make identifying the fundamental conflict sources a difficult process. This is related to the explanation regarding the combination of greed and grievance literature. Those two different point of views enrich the understanding of climate change and violent conflict. People will see it from many different perspectives. Despite the heated debate among the scholars and policy makers, this, however, brings benefits for many people. One of them is that people will start to realize that there are many approaches to solve the problem of climate change and conflict. Even though this issue seems complicated and complex, but the interest of government and scientists to find more about it is something that should be appreciated.

Regarding a link between population and environment, other research and data show different conclusions. Sandra Yin (2006) explains that lifestyle choice can affect environment and resources; thus, the problem is not only a matter of the growing population. In several instances, people's lifestyles worsen environmental conditions; for example, the US nearly doubled its population from 1950 to 2005, but the rate of resource consumption more than doubled during that period. Most US citizens have high incomes, and those high incomes lead to more spending on consumption. India residents, composing the second largest population in the world, only eat 4.4 kg of meat per person per year; US residents, in contrast, consume 120.2 kg per person per year (Smith, 2017). These large differences indicate that lifestyle has an immense impact on resources, and human actions matter for the sustainability of the environment. This elucidates that population growth and food supply are complex. The analysis on this issue should consider many different aspects, for example, social and cultural factor. Direct connection between population growth and food scarcity should be one of variables, thus, it is not just one primary unit of analysis.

Different arguments and understandings regarding violent conflict and climate change contribute to the debate whether climate change causes conflict or not. In the following section, I demonstrate that governments and some other institutions play an important role in managing a conflict and its sources as it has correlation with greed-grievance concept.

Role of Government and Institution in Managing and Preventing Conflict

The effects of climate change are perceived all over the world. The United Nations (n.d.) agrees that climate change should be treated as a global issue, not just a local or national problem. Climate change as a natural phenomenon is unpredictable, and humans have no control over it (Athukorala and Resosudarmo, 2005: 321; Meierding, 2013: 197). Yet, people are capable of managing the social effects of climate change. Taking the conflict over the Nile River as an example, Boutrous-Ghali argues that the river disputes were not an environmental issue, but one based primarily on political interests (Barnett, 2000: 276). Climate change induces droughts occurring in countries around the Nile River (Mbote, 2007: 3). These conditions lead to increased tension within that region since water becomes a sensitive issue. The actual problem in this conflict does not actually lie in the struggle for water, but in the failure of the countries involved to reach agreements (Wiebe, 2001: 731). Thus, a political approach was required to understand the state of affairs, and in the end, a political solution helped to solve the problem. In 1999, countries in the Nile Basin formed a new and effective solution, named the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), which maintains a partnership among members to manage the Nile River as a collective resource (Mbote, 2007: 3).

Conflict on the Nile demonstrates that government has enough power to handle the situation even though the conflict is related to environmental issues and climate change, which tends to have an irregular pattern of cause and effect. Great communication and brilliant diplomacy become the keys to solve the water conflict problem. This is related to the concept of greed-grievance where the government plays a central role. Government is not a passive actor but their policies have impact on reaction from general public. Every decision made will have an effect on society. Tendency of conflict to erupt also depends on their acts.

Another example of resource management which can keep countries in harmony is the Okavango River area. Three countries in the region, Angola, Botswana, and Namibia, agreed a long time ago to cooperate in utilising their water resources. The river is an essential part of this community since half a million lives depend on this water. In 1994, they compromised to establish the OKACOM Agreement, which strengthened their ties and continued the cooperative relationship as an official one. The OKACOM Agreement became a symbol of mutual understanding, and it also functions as a medium to prevent unintended conflicts due to unequal resource distribution (OKACOM, 2017). This example indicates that possibility of conflict could be reduced if the government is able to make a right decision. Relations between governments or authorities are very crucial. Thus, government has power to control the situation as emphasized in greed and grievance theoretical framework.

The Indonesian government's post-tsunami disaster management can serve as a good lesson. In 2004, a tsunami destroyed the country, particularly in the Aceh region, where 150,000 people died and 750,000 people

needed to be relocated (Masyrafah and McKeon, 2016: 1). The catastrophe had a massive impact on citizens living in that area. Some scientists claim climate change can make these future situations worse. Professor Bill McGuire of University College London states that climate change affects the earth's crust, which stimulates more frequent natural disasters, including tsunamis (Meares, 2009). To prevent any effects caused by climate change, government should take clear action.

The case of Aceh, Indonesia, is not merely a common governmental response toward disaster in terms of a security issue. Aceh is different from other provinces in the country. Free Aceh Movement (GAM), a separatist group based in the area, was in conflict with the legitimate government of Indonesia for 30 years since it intended to gain its independence (Kingsbury, 2007: 166). The clash was terrible and hampered development of the region (Athukorala and Resosudarmo, 2005: 15). Fortunately, a tsunami, along with its tremendous effect on the environment, does not trigger a larger conflict between the movement and the state. This proves that environmental conditions do not necessarily determine whether the conflict is going to happen or not. In addition, food scarcity and malnutrition problems in several countries such as Malawi, Zambia, the Comoros, North Korea, and Tanzania do not cause conflict and violence within those countries (Salehyan, 2008: 319). Stewart (2002: 650) also emphasises that government is an important agent when it comes to managing the effect of climate change, including violent conflict. Therefore, I argue there are other social aspects, such as a government's role, that can reduce societal tension.

The Indonesian government worked with other institutions to rebuild Aceh after this severe tsunami attack. The reconstruction project in the area had amazing results considering it was the largest such programme ever attempted in third-world countries (Athukorala and Resosudarmo, 2005: 39-40). Assistance from organisations such as international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the United Nations provided a positive impact as well. More than 100 countries and thousands of military personnel from all over the globe did their best in helping the Aceh province recover (Masyrafah and McKeon, 2016: 133). Besides the government, these institutions and organisations contributed real actions that can prevent conflict eruptions due to environmental problems. International aid from developed countries is surely needed during this period (Salehyan, 2008: 323). This demonstrates the importance of coordination and collaboration among states, international institutions, and NGOs in post-disaster management that relates to conflict prevention.

The case of Aceh and Boxing-Day tsunami emphasizes the central role of government based on greed and grievance literature. Colier and Heffler explained in the concept that government power in defense sector has an impact on rebellion. This indicates that the authority possessed by government affect the cause of conflict. The central government in Indonesia as well as local government of Aceh could prevent possibility of violent conflict pushed by GAM, the local rebel group. Despite the tendency of conflict erupted post-tsunami

event, rebels could not take this moment as an opportunity to fight since the government held full control of the situation. Based on greed-grievance, movement of rebel group also depends on role of government.

The effect of climate change also affects patterns of human migration. The World Bank (2017) predicts the number of people moving to new areas because of climate change will dramatically increase in the future. There will be social changes occurring through interaction between different societal groups as they come and occupy new locations. Salehyan (2008: 316) argues that mass migration induces violent conflict because people struggle over natural resources to fulfil their needs. Barnett takes the opposite stance on this issue as he challenges the horrific consequences of population movement based on Salehyan's argument. Barnett (2003: 11) points out the power of institution to control migration's effects. He emphasises that negotiation between institutions, such as governments, will play an important role to keep conflict from arising due to close interaction with members of the public. Furthermore, Hartman (2010: 237-238) adds it is not only about the issue of climate change, but also political and economic conditions of a state and its surroundings that have an influence on migration.

The civil war in Somalia is an appropriate example of how people are displaced to different locations to avoid devastating conflict. In 1991, these refugees started new lives in a camp in Dadaab, Kenya, where today 500,000 people remain (Hussein, 2016). Besides civil war, climate change makes people's lives more complicated. In 2011, a terrible drought caused food scarcity leading to famine in Somalia (Lawrence, 2011). Chris Funk, a researcher at the University of California, claims that climate change has become a primary factor in the drought occurring in Somalia and surrounding area (Knafo, 2011). This humanitarian disaster forces people to leave their homes in order to find a better place to live.

Even worse is that the conflict occurs not just in Somali's home country, but also in the new region, where people interact with other refugees from Somalia and meet people of Kenya, where this contact does not work very well. In the camp, violence occurs in the Somali community since it consists of many different clans and sub-clans (Crisp, 2000: 608). Some Somalis living in the camp in Dadaab also become a threat to local people. In 2012, one year after a famine triggered by the effects of climate change, there was grenade blast that killed and injured people and fuelled tension between Kenyans and Somalis. To solve this problem, the Kenyan government intended to send refugees back to their home country (Kamau & Fox, 2013: 10). Recently, for security reasons, the government attempted to close the camp through an appeal to the court. This idea was previously rejected because of a petition from Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and Kituo Cha Sheria (Bloom, Clarke and Sevenzo, 2017).

Conflict occurring among Somalis who have members from different clans and sub-clans approve the grievance conceptual framework. Grievance theory emphasizes that inter-group hatred is one of the causes of

conflict. It adds tendency to have clash within society. Somali group which includes different sub-groups of people creates more tension based on greed-grievance literature. The more diverse population, the higher possibility of conflict to erupt. It is clearly portrayed in this case. Furthermore, the interaction between Kenyan and Somali also relates to the theory. The homogeneous population of Kenyan is threatened with the emergence of new group i.e Somali. They used to live together with people who have same background. When their area becomes more diverse, then, the conflict erupted. This condition is very relevant to the proposition in literature.

Therefore, it is acceptable to say that climate change causes Somali migration to new areas and close interactions with local residents possibly leads to conflict; yet other aspects also influence the situation. Barnett's idea regarding the role of institutions is supported by Crisp's claim, as he (2000: 620-622) says that most violent incidents in Dadaab are due to weakness and insufficient capabilities of institutions such as security services, police, and the courts. For example, the number of police officers needs to be increased to ensure people's security around the camp, and these security services are not as well-trained as they should be. Decisions from the court also do not have clear and fair justification for perpetrators because several criminal cases of the same type have been treated differently.

This situation also approves the ideas from greed-grievance framework regarding the role of government. The concept emphasizes that government's ability to control their area affects the possibility of conflict. Diverse groups tend to have violent conflict if there are opportunities to do so, such as a less powerful government. Decisions made by government is another aspect which could create tension among society. Based on the empirical evidence in Dadaab, it indicates that the government treat people not equally. This also could give impact on the possibility of rebellion. In the greed and grievance theoretical framework, exclusion of minority group and marginalization of the poor are several factors that could trigger people to fight against government. In short, society react based on government decision and action. From this fact, it can be concluded that climate change is not the only reason trigger for violent conflict in Dadaab, Kenya.

Situation and Condition of a State

Each country has its own distinctive features and characteristics. The possibility of climate change to stimulate violent conflict really depends on the country itself, whether it is able to cope with climate change effects or not. Barnett (2003: 14) compares Australia and the Marshall Islands in their preparation toward future climate change issues. He claims that Australia can provide better protection for its citizens through its abundant resources. On the other hand, the Marshall Islands struggle with this environmental problem due to

their geographical location. They are also vulnerable to consequences caused by climate change because of sluggish economic growth (Reti, 2008: 15 & 22).

The effect of climate change is different in some particular way for each country, and most developing countries will be heavily affected due to their dependence on the agriculture sector and because of inadequate infrastructure services (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 641; Salehyan, 2008: 315). Climate change, indeed, has a major impact on the environment and natural resources, resulting in deteriorating economic conditions of individuals in third-world countries. This possibly can lead to an increasing rate of poverty. Chaos will arise everywhere since most poor people have a tendency toward violence based on historical perspectives (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 642 & 646). It also relates to greed-grievance literature, especially in the perspective of greed motivation. Based on this view, poor people or the ones with low income are prone to create a conflict. When the number of these people are high, the possibility of conflict will be increasing. Thus, the role of government is very important especially for the society with low income. Policies and action by the government toward this group of people can prevent conflict eruption. The authority should have careful consideration before implementing certain policies because they will directly impact people. Condition of society is the main focus for government.

A study of civil war in Somalia—where the majority of local people rely on livestock markets as a source of income—conducted by Maystadt and Ecker (2014: 1177) also concludes that economics can be a factor for those involved in conflict. From the point of view of greed-grievance concept, this case is the real evidence of greed motivation since the theory also has basis on economic sector. Complex reasons can contribute to the conflict and economic factor is one of them. As explained by the theory, economic issues play important role. The economic factor is not only about income but also related to its growth. In Somalia case, economic growth is heavily influenced by primary source of income that is livestock market. This condition create a high dependency on this sector. Therefore, major change on livestock market affect people condition that eventually lead to a conflict based on the theoretical framework.

Furthermore, government's role in developing countries is extremely important (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 650). Government as the highest authority of a state has to ensure its citizens are financially well-protected. Once the government fails to do so, there is a high chance that violent conflict will be triggered (Stewart, 2002: 343). These arguments are closely related to greed-grievance concept in explaining conflict's causal factors. Government has a central role in conflict prevention. Policies formulated by the authority give impact on the dynamic in society. The relations between people and government is very crucial. It can be concluded that these multiple effects demonstrate that climate change does not act as a direct cause of violent conflict.

Climate change is one of the contributing factors to ongoing conflict in Syria. A combination of political, economic, and environmental issues results in conflict within this area. The 2014 drought, which is a part of climate change's chain of events, also had an effect on agricultural life, economic conditions, and movement of people in Syria. The impact hit Syria very hard because this country is considered vulnerable to climate change (Gleick, 2014: 331-338). Moreover, local people live in despair when political tension worsens environmental conditions. In December 2016, the Assad regime destroyed Syria's water source, which caused millions to lose their access to water (Nebehay & Miles, 2017). This fuels the conflict over water resources that has been going on for thousands of years all around Syria (Gleick, 2014: 332). It is evident that humans contribute to making climate change more severe, as evidenced by Assad executing his evil plan. Gleick adds that some activities of local residents cause environmental degradation as well (2014: 335). Both society and authority have impact in conflict eruption. Therefore, climate change should not be considered the main cause of violent conflict since this article section reveals—based on the empirical evidence—that economics, politics, and social life control the tendency of a state to be in conflict.

Discourse and Historical Point of View

The previous sections show several global conflicts have complex roots, and climate change is one of the contributing causes. The impact of climate change causes concern about conditions of the environment and natural resources. This, however, seems to be a new issue in the modern world. Salehyan (2008: 316) argues that, in the future, people will start wars to secure resources such as water to fill their basic needs. Looking back at history, I find a different narrative. For thousands of years, there was no single event indicating that countries competed to take over water resources (Mbote, 2007: 3). This historical perspective disproves predictions based on Salehyan's research, even though no one is absolutely certain about future phenomena.

Tracing the relation between conflict and climate change is indeed a difficult thing to do. Presently, implementation of greed and grievance theory help to find a clear direction in regards to conflict causal factors. However, there is no researcher or academic who has successfully proven that conflict is directly linked to climate change. Dupont (2008: 47) claims that current results of research and observation are not sufficient to say that climate change can trigger tension on the international level. Meierding (2013: 194) adds that sufficient data are required in order to make particular claims in the analysis of climate change effects. More in-depth studies and empirical evidences are needed to solve this problematic situation. Furthermore, there are still many debates related to issues of natural resources, climate change, and conflict. Homer-Dixon (1994: 39), as a supporter of Neo-Malthusian thought, says that violent conflict can be triggered by resource scarcity. Salehyan (2008: 316) has different opinions, as he argues that resource abundance—not scarcity—will possibly lead to

conflict. Barnett (2000: 283) also shares his opinion on Homer-Dixon's work, where he critiques that the paper does not have a clear connection between the cause and effect of conflict. This is one example that indicates scholars have not reached a consensus to accept that climate change is the main cause of violent conflict. The debate is still happening among them.

Climate change and conflict is still a debatable topic. One cannot simply either deny or accept the statement that climate change leads to conflict. However, in this article, I argue that climate change has an indirect effect on people's social life and can be one of the factors triggering violent conflict. In the analysis, I have included some empirical evidences, such as the Nile River, Somalia, and Syria, based on the greed and grievance theoretical framework. Other factors also contribute to worsen situations and conditions in particular areas where the possibility of violent outbreaks are very high.

CONCLUSION

There have long been discussions among scholars and politicians regarding the problem of climate change and its relation to conflict. As climate change becomes more apparent, people begin to have greater concerns regarding its effect on the environment and other aspects of life. A variety of arguments and stances enrich the study of climate change and conflict, especially from the literature on greed and grievance proposed by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. Moreover, the Neo-Malthusian scholars argue that growing populations can affect the environment and cause conflict, while the opposition claims that growing populations are something that humans can control and manage.

Some conflicts, that seem to have strong connections to the environment and climate change effects, turn out to be conflicts involving political and social problems, as in the case of the Nile River. Other empirical evidence shows that some countries are able to manage their resources during crises caused by climate change. Government action is very significant because it can save people from situations that can lead to conflict. The role of government and official institutions is crucial in reducing societal tension. Moreover, only a few countries tend to be involved in conflict related to climate change effects. Some states have better control over situations that could potentially cause conflict if left unchecked. Government's role in managing and preventing conflict has strong correlation with greed-grievance theoretical framework.

Despite the debate over history and discourses regarding climate change and conflict, I conclude that climate change can be a source of conflict; but other factors, such as a government's power, influence of authority, and condition of a state, also play a role. Conflict is a complicated phenomenon, with implications beyond just the effects of climate change. Therefore, based on observations of the Nile conflict, the tsunami in

Aceh, the Okavango River, Somalia, and Syria, I argue that climate change is unlikely to ever be the sole cause of violent conflict.

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